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ABSTRACT

In order to test the hypothesis that integration of the public schools and individual classrooms has resulted in the development of positive attitudes between the races not only on the part of students but also for parents, teachers, principals, and the community at large, the author of this review of research focuses on studies on school integration completed from 1967 to 1969. Each study pertinent to the particular topic under consideration is reviewed individually, and at the conclusion of each section an assessment of the implications of the recent research on that particular topic is made. Topics dealt with include motivation, self concept, sense of control, anxiety, aspiration, behavior, social cognitions, and social attitudes. There is a brief review of previous research on each topic, and an overall concluding summary of the findings. In confirming the hypothesis the author used as major sources of information the facilities of Educational Resources Information Center system, Dissertation Abstracts, the returns on requests for current research which were sent to over 70 city school systems and universities involved in urban research, and current research reported in education periodicals. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (JM)

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AFFECTIVE CLIMATE
AND INTEGRATION

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A Report
Presented to the
ERIC CLEARING HOUSE
On The Disadvantaged

by
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INTRODUCTION

[redacted] The study deals with the basic hypothesis that integration leads to improved attitudes on the part of all those involved; parents, teachers, principals, and pupils. The hypothesis seems to be borne out by the research, with certain reservations.

Many of the studies on this topic suffer from limitations such as inadequate samples or lack of objectivity, but the studies on this vital topic were overwhelmingly positive about the attitudinal effects of integration. The number of studies dealing with the pre and post-integration attitudes of parents, teachers and pupils is quite limited in number, though a great deal of research has been conducted on Negro and white attitudes. Most of the research, however, does not specify the role of segregated or integrated schools as they affected those attitudes. Very few studies were conducted in this area prior to 1963, so in one sense the vast majority of the research can be considered current and up-to-date. This dearth of research prior to 1963, was pointed up by the Special Commission Report to the Board of Education in Chicago in 1964, when they stated:

> Surprisingly we know of no research on the actual attitude change of Negro students in desegregated schools.[1]

The final limitation of this review is due to the time in which it was conducted. Every attempt was made to discover recent research on this vital topic, but no doubt more could have been found, if the study were conducted over a longer period of time. The Educational Resources Information Center and Dissertation Abstracts were major sources of information, along with the returns on requests for current research which were sent to over seventy city school systems and universities involved in urban research. Current research reported in educational periodicals is also reviewed.

The purpose of the present study is not to rehash all the studies that have been conducted in the whole area of the attitudinal effects of integration, but rather to concentrate on studies completed within the past two years which have not been widely reported, but which do add light to the findings of the Coleman Report and the Civil Rights Commission Report.

The approach used in this review of research will be that used by Meyer Weinberg in his Phi Delta Kappa publication, Desegregation Research: An Appraisal. Each study that is pertinent to the topic under consideration will be reviewed individually, and then at the conclusion of each section, a summary, analysis and concluding statement will be made about the implications of the recent research on that particular topic. In additon, there will be a brief review of previous research on each topic and an overall concluding summary of the findings.

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Chapter I

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to determine what recent research indicates regarding the effect of integration on the attitude of all those affected.

Hypothesis to be Tested

Integration of public schools and individual classrooms has resulted in the development of positive attitudes between the races, not only on the part of students, but also by parents, teachers, principals and the community at large.

Importance of This Study

The importance of attitudes toward school, one's self, and those of another race was stated by the Supreme Court in its 1954, Brown et. al. v. Board of Education.

> ...Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefit they should receive in a racially integrated school system.[2]

The court dealt with the effects of segregation upon the black children, but since that time numerous researchers have also pointed out the effects upon the white majority in our society.

Educators, today, are coming more and more to the realization that one cannot separate the psychosocial or attitudinal aspects of human development from the intellectual aspects of this development. The two are so inextricably related that to ignore the one usually severely retards the growth of the other. Most of the emphasis in recent studies has been upon the academic achievement of whites and black in integrated as opposed to segregated schools, while the attitudinal or affective component has been largely ignored. The importance of the affective was noted in the study of Nolte and Helper. "One thing is certain: the attitudes of the subjects is overwhelmingly important in successful 'integration' of the schools.[3]

The purpose of school integration is not only to raise the scholastic achievement of Negro children, although most studies indicate that it does accomplish this, but more importantly it is to provide equality of opportunity, to raise aspirations, to change behavior and attitudes, to foster interracial acceptance, to lower prejudice, and to reduce anxiety and antagonism. These affective goals of integration are impossible where schools or students are racially and culturally isolated. John Fischer has stated this problem well.

> It is the substantial isolation of Negro and white students from each other rather than the numbers involved that produces the implication of differential status and prevents the association that is the indispensable basis for mutual understanding and acceptance.[4]

The extreme importance of attitudes was also pointed out by the Coleman report.

> Of all the variables measured in the survey, including the measures of family background and all school variables, these attitudes showed the strongest relation to achievement at all three grade levels....Taken alone, these attitudinal variables account for more of the variation in achievement than any other set of variables (all family background variables together, or all school variables together.)[5]

The other major report in integration, the Civil Rights Commission Report, agrees with Coleman on the importance of attitudes and the role of integrated or segregated schools in fostering certain attitudes towards school, one's self, or others of a different race.

Definition of Terms

Segregation. The socially-patterned separation of people. This means that we will not distinguish between de facto and de jure segregation, as the research seems to indicate little or no difference in impact upon children between the two. Weinberg defines a school as segregated when

> ...the community comes to view the school in its nature to be inferior and unsuitable for privileged children...If a school is considered by the community to be adequate for minority children but not for majority children, that school is segregated.[6]

Desegregation. Desegregation is a matter of administrative action. It is the breaking down of those practices which hinder equality of opportunity.

Integration. Weinberg defines it well as

> ...the realization of equal opportunity by deliberate cooperation and without regard to racial or other social barriers. The concept of integration stresses realization of equal opportunity.[7]

Attitudinal or Affective Dimension. Attitude is defined for our purposes, as containing two elements: a cognitive element and an emotional element. In this way, not only what we think about an object, but also how we feel about an object, becomes of some importance. Such topics as motivation, self concept, sense of control, anxiety, aspiration, and behavior will all be dealt with in this study, as they are a reflection of one's attitude towards oneself or others.

Chapter II

Attitudes and Prejudice:
A General Discussion

Prejudiced behavior can be seen wherever individuals are not treated as individuals, but as indistinguishable parts of a particular group. There have been numerous examples of prejudicial attitudes in our public schools, throughout our history and in all parts of the country. With the growing aspirations of the Negroes and other minorities in the United States, there is a constant threat to the existing social order. The aspirations of the Negro today have been legitimized by the courts and the "official" values of our society, but are constantly in conflict with the values which are practiced by many of our people. It is this conflict which threatens our existing social order and which makes it imperative that the public schools see its legitimate role in alleviating the tensions which have arisen. In the past, there has been a tremendous waste of our human resources, through the arbitrary removal of the Negroes from full participation in our schools and in our society. A value conflict has arisen also in the United States, as we have stated the importance of the equal worth of each individual, and yet do not treat each person equally. The conflict between our traditional relationships and the rising aspirations of the Negro are threatening the security of our democratic value system. The young radicals today take great pleasure in pointing out the inconsistencies between our official statements and our actual attitudes and behaviors.

Research on attitudes tell us of certain things about which we must be aware in measuring this important aspect of man's nature. (1) Attitudes differ not only from one individual to another, but also from one situation to another, for any given individual. (2) There is a great disparity between expressed attitudes and the behavior of individuals. (3) Attitudes are important to a problem only insofar as they cause a prejudicial action. This is not to say, however, that attitudes and behavior do not typically accompany each other. (4) Behavior shapes and alters attitudes in most cases, and not the reverse.

> ...In other words, evidence indicates that specific attitudes shape themselves to behavior. People who actually work with Negroes, especially as equals, develop favorable attitudes towards working with Negroes.... People who tend to behave towards Negroes as full equals on every level tend to develop attitudes toward them as full equals on every level....[8]

(5) A prejudicial state of mind is more than likely a function of behavior. (6) One learns social behavior by the examples one sees around him. Thus one learns to interact with people of differing religious and racial groups by seeing how others behave towards them. (7) Prejudice is learned by participating in prejudiced behavior patterns. This can be a vicarious experience such as the prejudiced view, until recently, of the Negro in our textbooks and mass media, which are but visible extensions of our basic behavior patterns. (8) Prejudice in attitude and behavior comes primarily from community practices, and the family and school tend to reflect the prevailing community practices and attitudes.[9]

If attitudes vary not only from individual to individual, but from situation to situation for any one individual, it is extremely important for the schools to consider all the situational components which go to make up positive and negative attitudes towards integration. It is also imperative that the actual behaviors of students, teachers and principals be analyzed, as attitudinal research has pointed out that a negative or hostile attitude does not necessarily express itself in negative or hostile behavior. This is important to keep in mind when reading those studies which deal with how people say they react to integration of the schools. If, as most studies outside of the schools seem to indicate, behavior shapes and alters attitudes and not the reverse, it is very important to see if this also holds true in the schools, as it has in the armed forces, in housing, and in employment. Another point which the schools need to analyze is the example which they set on such important issues as equality of opportunity and the treatment of those who differ from one in social class, religion, or race. Children and young people learn their attitudes by viewing their parents and others in their community, and also by seeing how the school and individual teachers in the school treat those who differ from them. If one can learn prejudiced attitudes from either prejudicial statements in textbooks and by teachers, or by the omission of an area of knowledge such as black or chicano history, then it would behoove the schools to do a thorough self-examination to see that which is prejudicial either through omission or commission.

Chapter III

Summary of Major Studies

Coleman Report

As was quoted earlier, the Coleman Report stated that of all the variables measured in their study, including family and school, the students' attitudes showed the greatest relation to achievement at all levels. The Coleman study dealt with three attitudinal variables: the student's interest in school and his reported outside reading; his self-concept with regard to learning; and his sense of control over his environment.

The report also concluded that the factors that, under all conditions, accounted for more variance than any others were the characteristics of the student's peers. Teacher's characteristics ranked second in importance, followed by other school characteristics, such as per pupil expenditure. Coleman, in a recent summary of the report states:

> The results clearly suggest that school integration across socioeconomic lines (and hence across racial lines) will increase Negro achievement, and they throw serious doubt upon the effectiveness of policies designed to increase non-personal resources in the school. A simple general statement of the major result is that the closest portions of the child's social environment - his family and his fellow students - affect his achievement most, the more distant portion of his social environment - his teachers - affect it next most, and the non-social aspects of his school environment affect it very little. This of course is an over-simplification because of the interactions of some of these factors; but the results remain, with clear implications for school policies designed to increase the achievement of minority groups and lower-class white students.[10]

These two conclusions on the importance of attitudes to school and oneself, and one's relationship to his peers and family as the key factors in school achievement once again point up the importance of the present study as it deals with these two areas.

The Coleman study found that both Negro and white students expressed a high self concept, as well as high interest in school and learning. It also found a significant degree of relationship between a high self-concept and high achievement, though it stated that this was probably more a consequence than a cause of scholastic achievement.

A second key finding, however, was that although Negroes expressed a high self-concept, they expressed a lower sense of control over environment than whites. The report states that:

> For children from advantaged groups, achievement or lack of it appears closely related to their self-concept: what they believe about themselves. For children from disadvantaged groups, achievement or lack of achievement appears closely related to what they believe about their environment.[11]

This lack of a sense of control comes from having experienced an unresponsive environment in which hard work is unlikely to be rewarding. The report then goes on to say that as the proportion of white students in a school increases, the child's sense of control of environment increases, but his self-concept decreases. There thus seem to be conflicting effects of integration on the black young person as the schools become increasingly more integrated.[12]

Racial Isolation in the Public Schools

Much more could be taken from the Coleman Report, but we shall now briefly summarize the conclusions concerning the attitudinal effects of integration, as seen by the United

States Commission on Civil Rights in Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. Racial attitudes of both whites and Negroes are influenced by the racial composition of the schools attended is perhaps the major attitudinal conclusion of the report.

Attitudes and academic achievement are both affected not only by the racial composition of the student body, but also by the duration of the Negroes' contact with whites. Students who attended integrated schools in the early grades were found to have a distinct advantage over those who were not integrated until late elementary or early secondary school. The negative attitudes of the community towards segregated schools was also found to have an impact on the expectations which teachers had for their pupils and also on the poor performance of Negro children in isolated schools.

It was also found that school segregation tended to perpetuate isolation later in life, as Negro and white adults who attended segregated schools tended to adopt attitudes which led to further alienation from those of the other race. It was found that Negroes who had attended desegregated schools tended to have higher self-esteem, higher aspirations,, and were more likely to seek desegregated situations. A similar study on whites concluded that those who had attended desegregated schools were more likely to accept Negroes in a desegregated situation and to support measures affording equality of opportunity.

Interracial schools, interracial classrooms and interracial neighborhoods were more often preferred by those who had experienced such situations, than by those who had not. It was also found that those who had experienced interracial education from the earliest grades were even more in favor of integrated schools than those who integrated later.

The Civil Rights Commission reported that Negro children in predominantly white schools not only scored higher on achievement tests and had higher aspirations, but that they also had a firmer sense of control over their own destinies. In the area of friendships and associations the Commission reported that attendance of segregated schools tends to generate attitudes which lead people to prefer association only with members of their own race. It was concluded that:

> Racial isolation not only inflicts educational damage upon Negro students when they are in school, it reinforces the very attitudes and behavior that maintain and intensify racial isolation as well....Moreover, the absence of interracial contact perpetuates the sense that many Negroes and Negro schools are inferior.[13]

The report goes on to discuss the direct effects which segregation have on impaired achievement and aspirations, and the indirect effects which lead to negative interracial attitudes and behavior which can only lead to damage and further isolation.[14]

Chapter IV

Summary of Earlier Minor Studies On Attitudes

Aspirations

In the period from 1954-1964, the aspirations of the Negro children and young people in school made a dramatic turn about. The Ausubels in their article in Passow's book, Education in Depressed Areas concluded that the depressed social and personal condition among Negroes led to low academic and vocational aspirations.[15] Coleman, the Civil Rights Commission, and several other studies which we shall review in Chapter V, found a dramatic rise in Negro aspirations, with no significant difference from that of the white young people. St. John concluded the same thing in her 1966 study of teenagers in the middle-sized New England city, that one could no longer support the hypothesis that Negro young people had lower aspirations than whites, or that the segregation of the elementary grades had any significant effect on the aspirations of Negro youth.[16]

Weinberg analyzes the reasons for the shifts in aspirational level and points to the new self-awareness and the importance of the civil rights movement in the 1960's as providing new hope.[17] He goes on to discuss several earlier studies which seem to show that among certain groups of blacks, aspirations have always been as high or higher than whites, but that this aspirational level was now rising for the majority. Blake's study supported the hypothesis that Negro pupils in integrated schools have higher levels of aspiration than those who were segregated.[18] Wilson found that school children tend to adopt the aspirations of their peers,[19] thus backing the importance of social climate to which the Coleman Report referred. Other studies have shown the social composition of the classroom to be of great importance in setting the aspirations of youth. Social class differences on aspirations rather than racial differences[20] have been pointed to as being important. Weinberg concludes that the research on aspirations can tell us the following things.

> 1. Negro students' aspirations are as high and often higher than those of white students.
> 2. If realism is defined by its correspondence with the status quo, then Negro youth in college are highly realistic applicants.
> 3. The social climate of the school constitutes an autonomous influence upon aspirations.
> 4. If the community as a whole were to raise its aspirations for the low-status student, including the Negro, there would probably be an enormous educational stride forward.[21]

In Chapter V we shall look at recent research conducted in the area of aspirations and see if the previously stated conclusions still hold true.

Emotional Aspects of Integration

This section will summarize the 1960 report by the group for the Advancement of Psychiatry entitled Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation. The adverse effects of segregation on the country were pointed out by the report as follows: (1) It fostered tension, ill-feeling, and disunity. (2) It hindered our relations and prestige overseas. (3) It deprived us of a large portion of our human resources. Its effects on the community were seen as: (1) Lowering the well-being of the community. (2) Contributing to a lack of educational and economic attainments, high disease and death rates, crime and delinquency, and substandard living conditions. Segregations' effects on the individual were also pointed out. (1) As a result of being treated as unworthy, the Negro comes to suffer from feelings of inferiority and humiliation, which often lead to resentment of white people. (2) White people gain a false sense of superiority. (3) Segregation fosters, by its very nature, hostility and aggression.[22]

The writers dealt at length with the possible psychological reactions of children to desegregated schooling. (1) A child's attitude towards a new group is dependent, to a large degree on his family relationships and attitudes. (2) Teachers and others in the school setting can play a major role in solving family-based problems and in developing new forms of behavior. (3) Some students may develop maladjustments such as becoming unduly suspicious of the members of the new group or imagine maltreatment, while others under the pressure of the unfamiliar may become overtalkative, overassertive, overcompliant or shy, isolated and withdrawn. (4). Groups also react to newcomers by excluding them, ignoring them, or showering attention. (5) Teachers must learn to differentiate between personal squabbles and scapegoating of a minority group. (6) Children will sometimes use racial differences as an excuse for other difficulties. (7) Support for desegregation by teachers can help free children of prejudices, though it may place them in conflict with their parents' value system. (8) Economic and social class difficulties must not be given racial overtones, if integration is to succeed.

Teachers are also faced with psychological difficulties caused by desegregation. The report lists some of the following as important points: (1)Teachers are not immune from psychological conflicts and opportunities must be provided to resolve their difficulties before they interfere with learning. (2) Teachers must beware of using desegregation for a scapegoat on problems with other causes. (3) Teachers sometimes relinquish racial prejudice only to adopt new prejudices against the socially or economically deprived. (4) Teachers often tend to reject a child of the other race, which tends to verify their strong convictions, or they will make a "mascot" of him, because he is an underdog. (5) Teachers must beware not to let their teaching reflect their own personal needs and goals, rather than those of the students.[23]

Self-Concept

Weinberg, in reviewing some twenty-seven studies dealing with self-concept from 1957-1967, concluded that desegregation has benefitted Negro self-esteem most of the time and has virtually never harmed it.[24] This finding is in contrast to the Coleman report which stated that self-concept seems to decrease as the percentage of white pupils in a school increases. A reason which may explain these conflicting findings is that each study uses a different measure of self-concept, often only a sentence or two, to which agreement is given.

Some of the earlier studies indicated that it is more difficult for Negro students to maintain their self-esteem in segregated schools, while others seem to indicate that Negroes with high self-concept scores were seen as the more aggressive, race conscious and high achievers. Other research seem to indicate that desegregated Negroes benefit from the higher self-esteem of their parents, as their parents are more likely to have experienced desegregated situations. Even in situations in which desegregation was achieved with a great deal of bitterness, there is little evidence that this affected children's performance, and few, if any, studies have shown that forced competition with a group considered to be superior academically has a negative effect on a child's self-esteem. Self-concept was also measured in studies within the past few years which now find Negro students coloring the faces of their self-portraits and buying Negro dolls, while ten years ago there was a distinct difference in attitude towards their own color.

Studies in the past have also seen a lessening of anxiety and frustration as a result of integration. Others pointed out the need to change the negative image of blacks in pre-school and educational literature, as this does have some bearing on the self-esteem of the Negro child.[25]

One can conclude from most of the earlier studies dealing with the self-concept of black and white school pupils, that integration has had a positive effect on the black students and has not negatively affected the white. The rise of ethnic consciousness and such things as the civil rights movement have also had a profound effect in the past few years on the self-esteem of black students, so that all the rise cannot be posited to the integration of the schools.

Motivation to Learn

"Segregated conditions weaken the motivation to learn" is the conclusion of a report by Lesser et. al. in reviewing research conducted from 1953-1963. In several studies reviewed, a lack of motivation to learn by Negroes in a segregated situation was explained by their failure to see any relationship between life and the classroom, and their low expectations for the future. When asked why they abandoned their work on a problem the segregated students in one experiment reacted with, "Who cares?" or "What does it matter?"

Verbal rewards and knowledge for its own sake were found to be generally lacking as motivational devices for segregated pupils. Desegregated schools were found to be able to give a broader range of rewards and to stimulate greater interest on the part of students. Peer pressure and involvement, to which Coleman refers, were also seen in several studies as a key factor in motivating the Negro students.[26]

Attitudes

The attitudes which students have towards one another can have a profound effect, not only on academic achievement, but also on behavior and the psychological and emotional health of the students involved in the integrated school setting.

Earlier research in this area indicates that at earlier grade levels interracial interaction tends to be very great, but that at the upper elementary and secondary levels, racial self-preference comes to the fore. Negro students at all levels felt that they were treated as someone different. Some studies seem to indicate that high authoritarianism and lower scholastic averages were correlated with unfavorable attitudes to Negroes.

Most research seems to indicate that interracial contact, without guidance from teachers and positive community support, does not necessarily result in improved attitudes on the part of either blacks or whites. Another finding indicates that integration tends to find the Negroes more accepting of whites, but this was not necessarily true the other way around. The important factors on white acceptance seemed to be parental and community attitudes, the attitudes of the white pupils before and after integration, to Negroes in general, and what events occurred during the integration process.

Some behavior problems on the part of Negro youth were seen as the result of the desire to be accepted, and yet a feeling of hopelessness at how far behind many of them were academically. Research in New England found Negroes to be more active in school affairs than whites in integrated schools, but also that whites were more willing to initiate friendships. Desegregation was found to promote interracial friendships in studies conducted at all levels, from the lower elementary school through college. Many Negro students at the higher levels have experienced isolation, alienation, and disaffection with the schools that they attended.

Studies on Negroes perceptions of white student's academic ability show that Negroes had an unrealistically high impression of white intelligence and an unrealistically low view of their own intelligence, but that with integration, race no longer became the determining factor in their judgment of intelligence.[27]

Teacher Attitudes

The interaction between pupils and teachers is an extremely crucial factor in the successful integration of the schools. The findings of earlier research on this topic will be summarized in the following paragraphs.

White teachers in one study tended to see Negro pupils as high strung, impetuous, lazy, moody, rebellious, and talkative, while Negro teachers viewed their students as ambitious, cooperative, energetic, fun-loving and happy. At all levels, there are studies that point to discriminatory treatment of students by teachers and the negative effect this has on the students' attitudes, motivations, and achievement. Several studies have shown the importance of the teacher in setting the classroom atmosphere of fairness or discrimination, and the effects that the teachers have on pupil attitudes of acceptance or rejection.

Teachers tend to underestimate the academic ability of Negro pupils, and this was seen as having important effects on their expectations of the students. Another important finding deals with the area of deliberate classroom changes which must be made for effective desegregation of the schools.

Teachers, for the most part, have adopted a wait and see attitude about school integration. Seldom have teachers in any part of the country been found at the forefront of those pushing for equality of opportunity. Negroes have tended to be suspicious of school personnel, because they are looking for "results, not excuses; for actions, not declarations of good intent; for substance, not form."[28] Much too often the action of school personnel has only been the result of boycotts, marches, rallies, or regrettably, violence. Teachers generally reflect the attitudes of the community in which they teach, yet even in those communities which strongly oppose integration, support can be found from many powerful religious, political and social organizations. Record concludes that: "The success of a school integration program, however, rests importantly upon the initial attitudes of school people - their convictions and willingness to risk social disapproval and public criticism."[29]

Record summarizes some of the key attitudes exhibited by professional educators concerning integration. On school boards he sees several attitudes. There are the "bitter-enders," who hold that Negroes are really inferior and are actually happier where they are, and to do anything special for them would mean weakening the system for the middle-class white children. The "conservative" board member is not a bigot and is generally open-minded. He just does not believe that race relations can be changed quickly or by the schools. He is usually much more concerned with fiscal deficits than with the integration of schools, and he is also at the forefront of discussions on the preservation of the "neighborhood school." The "administration-dominated" board member takes his cues from the superintendent and places great faith in the reports and specialists. The "liberal" type varies greatly on the attitudes he takes to integration, but he can be characterized as desiring integrated schools and being concerned with long-term goals and basic values. A great deal of disagreement may be found, however, on how to reach those goals. No board member ever falls neatly into one category on their basic attitudes, but such characterizations are helpful in understanding some of the dynamics of the school integration process.[30]

Attitudes of administrative personnel run the gamut also. Some are basically hostile to integration, due to personal prejudice, from fear that his failure to deal with the problem could ruin his career, or that it may lead to public relations and staff problems. The "indifferent" administrator exhibits the attitude that nothing will happen and tends to sweep the problem under the rug as if it did not exist. The "cautious conformist" type moves slowly and is generally out of touch with the prevailing moods in the minority community. He is often caught in the middle of powerful groups, who generally decide the policies for him. The "enthusiastic" integrator believes in rapid change and is generally younger than the other types of administrators. He will often irritate his associates, but his enthusiasm provides him with a powerful weapon in convincing people of the need for integration.[31]

Teachers represent all attitudinal viewpoints. The indifferent teacher looks to his teaching as the important thing and refuses to become embroiled in the integration issue. He tends to accept whatever type of school he happens to be teaching in. The frightened teacher has usually been isolated from the problem and has misgivings and fear as the result. He fears for his personal safety and is unsure of how to treat students whom he has always thought of as inferior. The status striving teacher sees integration as a threat to his climbing the social ladder, for he sees the student body which he teaches as an important factor in defining his own social class standing. The custodian type of teacher maintains order and exercises authority, and tends to minimize education while emphasizing the need for control. He sees little hope in breaking the cycle of poverty, hopelessness, and racism. The "secular missionary" type exhibits attitudes of paternalism, which usually reflect his feeling that Negroes are inherently inferior. He ignores or insults the self-worth of his pupils, and generally suffers from feelings of self-righteousness. The last type Record calls the "teacher's teacher" or "professional's professional." This teacher sees his primary task as public service based on competence, and he sees integration as a cause which should be led by professionally competent teachers and administrators. He also sees the importance of race relations to the subject matter he is teaching and the atmosphere in which learning takes place.[32]

Family Attitudes

Many studies have stressed the important role which a students' parents must play in successful integration. Perhaps their major role can be looked on as one of support and counseling. Parental attitudes towards integration have been studied by many researchers, and the results vary from community to community, by sections of the county and by social class.

Several studies have pointed out that attitudes alone are relatively poor predictors of white people's reaction to desegregation. This is in keeping with the general discussion of attitudes in Chapter II, which pointed up the fact that negative attitudes do not always lead to negative behavior. Numerous studies have shown massive white resistance prior to integration, but following it, a very small percentage still oppose it or feel it to be ineffective or a failure. White attitudes tend to be more favorable when desegregation is perceived as a *fait accompli*.

Some researchers have pointed to the importance of "threat" to white parents as a key factor. Some perceive integration as a threat to their status, or to the quality of education, to physical safety and comfort, to sexual threats, to one's sense of superiority, or to an increase in taxes. Each parent reacts to a different set of threats dependent on such things as social class, economic status, occupation and many other variables.

Some research seems to indicate that systemwide basis with a wider range of neighborhoods involved is preferable to a piecemeal integration in which some groups feel they are taking the brunt of the whole integration procedure.

Some researchers have speculated that where there are local organizations to which the white population can express their grievances and interests, there is less likelihood of feelings of powerlessness and alienation taking hold, which can lead to strong resistance or violence.

For the most part, Negroes have not pressed vigorously for integration, either in the South or the North. Perhaps a more basic goal of civil rights groups and most Negro parents has been quality education. Some of the lack of desire to integrate the schools stems from feelings of threat similar to those experienced by whites, and a fear of what would happen to their children when they experienced the open prejudice of the white community. In some areas, Negro parents fear harassment, economic reprisals or even physical harm. Widespread integration will not be possible until Negro parents feel that it is necessary, in order to overcome the inherent inequalities of segregated schooling.[33]

Chapter V

Survey of Recent Research

As was seen in Chapter IV, there are many aspects of the affective domain which are influenced by the integration of the schools. We shall review each research study dealing with a particular topic and then briefly summarize the major findings.

Self Concept

The individual's self-concept is coming to be recognized by more and more educators and researchers as a key, if not the key, factor in intellectual as well as psychosocial development. How a person views himself is seen to have a great influence on his behavior. If one views himself as good looking, likeable, or successful, his behavior is likely to reflect those viewpoints. For children of minority groups, self-concept has proven to be a crucial factor in school achievement, motivation, aspirations and behavior. For most of their history in this country, research indicates that Negro children suffered from low self-esteem, conscious self-hatred, and ambivalence, due to experiences with discrimination and the low social status of their race, which they saw all around them.

In order for one to gain a realistic, positive self-concept it is necessary to see oneself and one's race in a positive, realistic light. Research has pointed up the need for an understanding of race and color, and the importance of studying one's history and culture in order to bring about racial pride and rising individual aspirations and self-esteem.

Self-concept theory points to three important steps:

Perceiving--->Behaving--->Becoming

It also gives some basic hypotheses, which are helpful in any analysis of research dealing with the self-concept as it affected by integration.

1. An individual's behavior is directly influenced by his self-concept.
2. The self-concept emerges from the many social situations in which the individual is a participant: home, school, church, community, peer group activities.
3. The self-concept is modified as the individual participates in situations with varying expectations.
   a. The individual self-concept reflects the actual or perceived expectation of others (parents, teachers, peer groups, other adults in the situation.)
   b. The self-concept is either enhanced or modified positively when supported by the group's expectations of the individual or threatened and modified negatively when threatened by the goup's expectations.[34]

Fox et. al. evaluated the ESEA Title One dealing with the attitudes in the Open Enrollment Receiving Schools Projects in New York City. The study found that the Negro and Puerto Rican students involved in the open enrollment program have a positive self-perception, and a widely different view of themselves than did minority children, who were studied 27 years ago by Kenneth Clark. The children showed particularly positive self-feelings in the area of their social and personal functioning, and they expressed confidence in their ability to improve, thus evidencing strong feelings of control over their environment.[35]

In a study for the United States Office of Education Harootunian sought to discover the relationship between self-concept and cognitive performance in segregated Negroes, desegregated Negroes and whites. To measure self-concept, the researcher used the eight question Self-Concept of Ability Scale, and to measure cognitive performance, a number of tests eliciting a variety of intellectual constructs were used. Harootunian found self-concept of ability to be an important predictor for all groups except for the segregated Negro males and the desegregated Negro females. He concluded that self-concept was a significant correlate for the other groups, and particularly noteworthy for the desegregated Negro males.[36]

In a Mississippi study, Bass investigated the change in ninth graders reported self-concepts and concepts held of others, after interacting with materials taught in seminars, of a segregated and an integrated group structure. He concluded that there was no significant change in self-concept or in concept of others as a result of experiencing the subject matter on morals, values, and cultural differences, as taught in the study. He did find, however, that Negro students taught in integrated seminars tend to perceive their peers as being more accepting of themselves, while Negro students in segregated seminars tended to perceive their peers as being less accepting of themselves.[37]

Negro subjects with white friends were found to have more favorable self-images by Webster and Kroger in a high school study. They also expressed higher levels of aspiration for themselves. Possible reasons given for this finding were that for a Negro adolescent to be open to friendship to whites might require that he himself feels competent and independent, and due to the higher status of whites, when a Negro accepts a white as a friend, this interaction could generate within the Negro greater feelings of personal worth and influence his level of aspiration.[38]

McWhirt found among tenth graders, that desegregation tended to raise the self-concepts of males to a significantly greater degree than it did for females. He also found, however, that though the ratings of self-concept for Negro females and white males increased in an integrated school setting, those for Negro males and white females increased in a segregated school.[39] In a discussion on the emotional aspects of school desegregation, the psychiatrists report pointed out the sexual overtones of desegregation, and the above findings by McWhirt tend to bear out their contention.

No relationship exists between school integration and the self-concept or level of anxiety of Negro students, was the hypothesis tested by Bienvenu with Negro adolescent males. He tested a control group in a segregated school and an experimental group in an integrated school using pre and post integration tests. He came to the following conclusions: (1) There was a significant difference in self-concept between the experimental and the control groups in the post-integration situation. (2) There was no significant difference in the self-concept of either the experimental or the control group from pre to post-integration. (3) There was a significant inverse relationship between anxiety and self-concept in each group before and after integration. A high self-concept was generally correlated with lower anxiety.[39b]

Taylor, in a study dealing with changes in self-concept during the first year of desegregated schooling concluded that Negro children tend to decrease in self-esteem following an initial rise, while on measures of centrality, whites tend to rise following an initial decline. She also concluded that significant differences in self-concept in the dimensions of centrality, dependency, individuation and power were intensified by segregated schooling, and that these differences reflect the differential caste position of the two races in American society.[40]

The content of the curriculum and the curriculum materials significantly affects the mental and emotional outlook of some children, Georgeoff concluded in his 1968 study of the effect of curriculum upon fourth grade children. He also found that the self-concept of children can be improved through a curriculum which deals with minority group history and culture, and that not only does it aid the self-concept of black students, but also whites.[41]

Four hypotheses were tested by Guggenheim in his analysis of self-esteem and achievement. (1) White pupils have levels of aspiration in academic tasks that are closer to their actual abilities in those tasks than Negro pupils.

(2) High self-esteem pupils have levels of aspiration in academic tasks that are closer to their actual abilities in those tasks than low self-esteem pupils. (3) High self-esteem pupils have more flexibility in adjusting their levels of aspiration as a result of experience than low self-esteem pupils. (4) Negro pupils have lower self-esteem than white pupils. His findings accept hypothesis number one but reject two, three and four. In general, Negro pupils were found to have aspirations as high as the white students, but there was a significantly greater discrepancy between their actual and their expected acheivement.[42] Guggenheim defined a person's self-concept as:

> ...a composite of thoughts and feelings about his individual existences. It constitutes who he is and what he is; it is an image or picture that an individual holds of himself. As such, it includes physical and psychological self-images.[43]

McPartland found that Negro children report levels of self-esteem as high as whites, and quotes Chief Justice Warren in 1954, to show how this has changed.

> To separate Negro children of a similar age and qualifications solely because of their race, generated a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community, that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to be undone.[44]

McPartland sees events, since 1954, including the Supreme Court decision as having a profound effect on racial pride and a new racial identity and self-esteem. Such things as civil rights movements, the emergence of new African nations and black world leaders, along with the riots in American cities, are all seen as important elements in the development of black pride and rising self-esteem.[45] Other findings of McPartland will be looked at later.

Sense of Control and Competition

McPartland's research agrees with the Coleman report that the student's sense of control increased with integration of the schools. Sense of control is seen to affect the motivation of students, as the degree to which a student believes his actions will affect his later status, will seriously affect his current behavior.

> In addition to being less motivated to learn, students with a low sense of control of environment may also fail to develop the ability to focus attention on cues and tasks in the classroom. If rewards and successes appear to come to them in a precarious manner over which they have no control, there will be little reason to attend to the environmental cues through which students learn on a trial by trial basis. Changes in the immediate opportunity for a student to design and affect his environment may influence both his motivation and his skill in perceiving classroom cues.[46]

Once the stigma of the segregated school and more importantly, according to McPartland, the stigma of a segregated classroom, was removed, the Negro students' sense of mastery over their environment improved.

It has been hypothesized by some researchers that Negro students in integrated classrooms would be intimidated by the stiffer competition which they faced and by their lower academic standing in the classroom. McPartland concludes that they are not intimidated and that a significantly greater number do not fail in their classwork as a result of integrated classrooms. He goes on to say that:

> It can be postulated that after changes in classroom organization, most Negro students who are exposed to higher academic standards and competition levels will not withdraw or suffer any serious damage to their personality.[47]

Aspirations

Another important area of research in the affective domain is aspirations of students, and how they are affected by the integration of schools. In many ways it is impossible to separate self-esteem and aspirational level, but the following review of research will deal only with those studies which discuss aspirations.

St. John studied the aspirations of Negro and white New England high school students. She hypothesized that there is a negative relationship between the degree of segregation and the aspiration level of Negro students. Although her findings did show that Negro high school students do have lower educational aspirations than whites, they failed to support her hypothesis that this fact is related to the Average School Percent Negro (ASPN) in the first 9 school years. The researcher found that "southern" Negroes did have consistently lower aspirations than "northern" Negroes. She points to the importance of the "racial atmosphere" as having as much importance as "racial balance," although she does say that without racial balance, a favorable racial atmosphere may be impossible.[48]

In a study of the vocational aspirations of Negroes, Curtis found that desegregated students chose managerial and professional jobs while segregated students chose jobs that are among the services, machine trades, etc.[49] In another study of vocational aspirations, Brown found that both white and Negro students in a matched study had occupational ambitions higher than their fathers, although on one scale, the Warner scale, 53.7% of the Negroes compared to only 19.5% of the whites aspired to higher occupations.[50]

McPartland, in the study referred to previously, concluded that desegregated students were more likely to follow up on college aspirations with concrete actions than were those who had been segregated. He also found that desegregated students had significantly higher aspirations.[51]

Prejudice

In his study dealing with tenth grade students, McWhirt found that interracial contact in the integrated school setting brought about more changes in the Negroes prejudices and attitudes towards white students than vice versa. His explanation for this was that the Negro students were seeking social approval more than the whites and therefore had to modify their behavior to a greater degree. Secondly, he suggests that the blacks in most integrated schools can have only a limited effect on white student attitudes due to their limited numbers.[52]

In a study designed to investigate the effect of desegregation on students' anti-Negro/Anti-white attitudes, Barber compared three schools: A - open renrollment, mostly white. B = inner city, mostly black and C = Suburban, all white. He concluded several things. (1) Negro students in A felt threatened by the white community and white students. (2) White students, white teachers and the community in school A felt threatened by the appearance of Negroes, in terms of social class consciousness. (3) The progress at school A has been slow, but there has been a greater social awareness of the problems of the inner city and richer interracial understanding. (4) Students at C answered more empathetically than A's white students. (5) B's Negroes were less distrustful and had higher self-esteem than A's Negroes. (6) White parents and white teachers who are anti-Negro tended to reinforce white students anti-Negro feelings. Some positive results of integration were seen in the development of interracial friendships, the commitment by many whites to help ghetto children, the new ability to view each other as individuals, and the formation of interracial student clubs.[53]

In a kindergarten study, Handler concluded that:

> ...given special experiences conducive to looking at beliefs and feelings about the Negro, young white children could change their negative attitudes and prejudices.[54]

Children were given a chance to examine their relationships and attitudes towards Negro children in a suburban integrated kindergarten. Materials were developed and special Negro visitors were brought into the operational group. The study found that the operational group began to verbally correct their faulty generalizations about Negroes, while the comparison group evidenced no positive change.

Anxiety

One of the major concerns over the integration of the schools is the anxiety which might result for both whites and blacks, and the impact which this might have on the learning environment.

In a study of southern Negro attitudes, Williams found that most of the Negro's affective insecurities centered around peer acceptance, fairness of Caucasian teachers and achievement in integrated settings.[55]

Starnes found that students who had been in integrated schools for two or more years did not experience any less anxiety than those who had been integrated for only one year. He also found, in this Florida study, that Negro students who attended predominantly white schools did experience a higher level of anxiety than those who did not. These findings came on top of his main conclusion that Negro students made greater academic gains in the integrated schools than in the segregated ones.[56] Slone came to the same conclusion as Starnes on Negro achievement and anxiety, and in addition concluded that there was no significant difference in achievement, anxiety or attitude for whites in segregated or desegregated situations.[57]

Harootunian and Morse disagree with Starnes and Slone in their finding that desegregated Negroes tend to:

> ...have greater intellectual ability, more positive self-concepts, higher achievement, motivation, less anxiety and so on.[58]

Bienvenu, in the study referred to previously in the discussion of self-concept found significantly higher anxiety levels after integration for the Negro males than they had evidenced prior to integration, but that this anxiety level was not significantly higher than those still in segregated schools. He also found a significant inverse relationship between anxiety and self-concept with a high self-concept generally correlated with lower anxiety.[59]

Harootunian found test anxiety to be a significant factor only for white females, while it did not have much effect on Negro or white males, or Negro females.[60]

Motivation

Very little research has been conducted in the area of achievement motivation, or need achievement as it concerns the Negro population in the schools. Achievement motivation comes into play:

> ...when an individual is aware that the outcome of some venture is his responsibility, when he anticipates knowing whether he will succeed or fail, and when he is uncertain about the outcome of his effort.[61]

Harootunian analyzed his Delaware data, using The Test for Insight to measure need achievement, and The Test Anxiety Questionnaire to measure need to avoid failure. Before giving his conclusions he warns that social class differences may have led to some of the differences in the samples, as well as varying cognitive abilities. He concluded that: (1) Need achievement is an important variable in differentiating whites, desegregated Negroes and segregated Negroes. (2) Desegregated Negroes tend to be closer to whites in need achievement and performance on cognitive tests. (3) For segregated Negro males the picture is the bleakest, as they experience the highest anxiety and lowest need for achievement of any of the male samples. The role of the Negro male in society has been studied by many researchers, and Harootunian's study seems to indicate that racially isolated schools have an important effect on his later role in life.[62]

A study in Pontiac, Michigan by Robertson concluded that attendance at a segregated junior high school negatively affects the grades of both white and Negro high school students, but that no significant difference in academic motivation could be found.[63] Anderson found no significant difference in academic ambition between open enrollment transferees and their non-transferring classmates. He did find some facts about home life which contributed to success in the integrated schools. (1) Small family size, and (2) Higher educational level of parents.[64]

Katz points up the detrimental effect which teachers of Negro students can play on the motivational level of their pupils. Such things as underestimating the ability of minority children, misinterpreting their goals, and expressing a preference for teaching white pupils can lead to real discouragement in the area of academic motivation for Negro pupils.[65]

Behavior

Behavior of pupils tends to reflect their attitudes towards themselves and the school, and consequently many of the studies already mentioned also looked at the behavior of students. Robertson concluded that there was no significant difference in behavior between those students who had attended a segregated junior high school and those who had attended an integrated one.[66]

In a Sacramento study of a project to relieve de facto segregation, only 21.9% of the teachers indicated that the integration of their classroom had a negative effect on discipline problems.[67]

Vredevoe concluded that good school behavior was the result of competent teaching and a good administrative staff, while the physical conditions and the availability of supplies were of secondary importance. He did find, however, some discipline problems which were caused by Negro students' insecurity and resentment at being used as pawns in the solving of a social problem. Other discipline problems were attributed to hostile teachers who saw their status as being affected by lower-class students in their classes, while the home environment was also pointed to as a cause. Many students, however, saw the school as an escape from a poor home situation, and thus improved on their behavior. He concludes:

> ...desegregation may or may not result in poorer discipline in the school. The competence of the teaching staff, their attitude and interest in the minority groups, the mental climate in which the student is working and studying, the challenge and motivation of the program are the major factors. Teachers and administrators who knew what they were teaching, how to teach it, and how to motivate students had the best pattern of discipline in their schools. Segregation and desegregation were of secondary importance. Schools in both groups could be identified as representing the best or the worst in school discipline.[68]

Attitudes of Students, Parents, Teachers and Principals

In this final section dealing with student attitudes, we will deal with many aspects of the affective climate of the school and of the individual pupils. Some of the studies reported perhaps fit into one of the previously discussed categories, but are reported here as they cover several aspects of the affective domain.

Singer tested the hypothesis that white children in classroom contact with Negro children would be more favorably disposed to Negro children than white children without such classroom contact. The hypothesis was supported for both blacks and whites. I.Q. and sex were also found to correlate with acceptance of pupils of the other race. High I.Q. white girls were the most willing to associate with those of the other race, and high I.Q. was generally correlated with less prejudice, though it was found that the average I.Q. white children in the integrated school were the most liberal. Negro students in the integrated school were more willing to "color" themselves, than those in the segregated school, thus indicating a willingness to differentiate themselves from whites and to accept their race.[69]

In his discussion of compensatory education and research studies dealing with it, Cohen points up the importance of the student body as the immediate medium in which instruction and learning occurs, and the evidence that the racial composition of the schools shapes the racial preferences and interracial behavior of both children and adults. He concludes that segregated compensatory education can only lead to the furthering of a classed and inferior education for Negroes.[70]

In their study dealing with the characteristics of Negro students attending previously all-white schools in the deep south, Chesler and Segal sought to analyze not only student reactions but also parents' and teachers' attitudes. Here we will analyze only what was found about student interaction and attitudes. In their preliminary discussion they review previous research which suggests many things. (1) That the effects of desegregation on Negro students is probably related to the degree of motivation which the person has or the situation warrants, and that they are closely tied to the acceptance or rejection which the Negro pupil experiences when he comes into contact with white peers. (2) Contact of racial groups does not necessarily lead to the reduction and elimination of racial distance and tension. The dynamics of peer and authority dynamics must be dealt with successfully if integration is to have a positive effect. (3) Mere mixing of races may lead to greater Negro acceptance of whites or greater white acceptance of Negroes, but not always both. (4) Desegregation may negatively affect the attitudes of those whites whose grades go down or who come from homes whose parents are less well educated.[71]

Chesler and Segal found in analyzing the initial experiences of the Negro pupils with their white peers that only 15% found a positive reaction while 48.6% encountered considerable resentment and hostility. As the year progressed most found new potentials for interracial relations, although many (42%) saw their white friends as being rejected by white peers. Eighty percent of the Negroes felt that the whites had changed their attitudes positively during the year, and 92% felt free to participate in class discussions, except on such topics as race or civil rights. The researchers concluded that initially:

> Negro students experienced considerable indifference and rejection, and often physical and emotional brutality when they entered white schools...the stage is now being set for suspicion, mistrust and continuingly justified expectations of mutual hostility and rejection.[72]

They also dealt with, at length, however, on the role that the teachers and the principal can play in alleviating the tensions tended to decline. They also pointed out the differences they found between northern and southern Alabama, thus pointing up the fact that each school and each region of a state or the country can and do react differently to the integration of the schools.[73]

McPartland found that social integration within desegregated schools, as measured by a Negro's inclusion in an interracial friendship group, was found to be the effective agent for changes in racial attitudes. He also pointed to the importance of the social climate of the school in his finding that the stigma of inferiority and defeatism was lifted somewhat by desegregation. The student environment, stigma, and social integration were found to have important effects on Negro academic achievement. He hypothesized that:

> ...one promising avenue for affecting what is perhaps the most crucial element of the classroom learning environment--the student climate--is through modifications in the formal structure of the classroom organization.[74]

One of the most important findings which McPartland and others have come up with is that the values of a student body are strongly conditioned by the social class composition of the students enrolled, and this is a major reason why desegregation appears to be influential. Negro students are exposed to a peer group which is strongly oriented toward academic pursuits and this in turn affects their aspirations, motivations, and academic attainments.[75]

In analyzing the effects of desegregation on achievement and personality, patterns of Negro children, Anderson concluded four things: (1) Academic achievement is higher in a desegregated school. (2) Academic achievement is higher for those who were desegregated earlier. (3) There are no differences with respect to the level or pattern of personal adjustment between segregated and desegregated pupils. (4) Negroes in desegregated schools did evidence more anti-social tendencies, but this single instance could easily have happened by chance.[76]

In a study of academic achievement and attitudes towards school by Negroes in balanced and unbalanced schools, Lockwood found significant achievement-differences, but few attitudinal differences. To three items, however, those in balanced schools reacted more favorably. "It is good to take part in classroom work," "Pupils should help classmates who do not understand," and "It is important to be friendly with every member of the class."[77]

In a study of summer camps, the social climate of the camps was found to be the key factor, along with the concern on the part of the camp leadership, and the varying personality make-ups of the boys involved. Intimate relationships on contact of the races alone did not account for the degree and direction of attitude change according to studies by Mussen and Yarrow.[78]

Herman could find no significant effect of integrated or segregated neighborhoods on the attitudes of Negro and white children toward different racial groups. Those attitudes come from other sources: parents, school, etc.[79]

Negro and white students voluntarily integrate themselves into a single group was the conclusion of Gunthorp in a study of co-curricular activities. In the area of discipline, more Negroes were initially referred for disciplinary action but fewer were actually suspended. The hypothesis that the Negroes would have a higher rate of failure than the whites was rejected. Gunthorp's major conclusion was that "contact and participation of peers on an equal basis can remove discrimination and prejudice."[80]

McDowell pointed out that the school climate and quality of race relationships are of greater importance than the race ratio. The races must approach each other on an equal status level, if antagonism is to be lessened. She also points up the need for voluntary informal contact outside the school, otherwise school contacts are:

> ...a ritual, a temporary fiction in which both Negro and white participants concur, until they depart the confines of the school building for the "real life" outside.[81]

Agreeing with the Civil Rights Commission Report, McDowell found that for all in-school groups, the willingness to attend predominantly white schools is positively correlated with the degree of their previous desegregation experience.[82]

In a study of non-academic factors of school integration, Mahan questioned parents, teachers and pupils about their experiences. Most parents expressed approval or at least not hostility about integration and the teachers found positive attitudes and important gains in academic achievement among their Negro students. Data on Negro-white interaction at lunch, working on school projects, and attending movies together found that the Negro children were accepted as any other child in the classroom and reacted in that fashion.[83] In an earlier study of the same project Mahan concludes that integration seems to work, as teachers reported that the bussed youngsters fit in well, adjust quickly, and respond positively to high academic expectations. No signs were found among the experimental subjects of increased anxiety, of emotional or behavioral problems or of greater school failure.[84]

Ellis and Wiggins did not find any evidence of greater interracial aggressive exchanges following integration of the schools. They found that blacks interact with those of another race more often than whites, which is to be expected in a situation where blacks are in an extreme minority. Trust of teachers was greater on the part of whites than for blacks.[85] In a study of integration in Angleton, Texas, Bryant found that following integration, the Negro dropout rate increased significantly, though the white rate did not increase. The grades received by Negroes were also found to have suffered in the integrated setting.[86]

It was hypothesized in a 1968 study that: (1) length of residence and residential proximity are related to the social distance patterns among adolescents of selected ethnic groups, (2) color is related to the sociometric choices made by children, and (3) whenever either ethnic group, Negro or Puerto Rican is in the minority, the acceptance scores will be higher than when both are in a minority or the majority. Hypothesis one was partially substantiated, no significance was found for hypothesis two, and hypothesis three was rejected. School climate rather than any of the variables tested was seen as responsible for the positive relationship between the ethnic groups.[87]

In a limited study of one integrated elementary school, Koslin sought to find the amount of interracial acceptance among primary age school children. Her major conclusion was that integrated white and Negro children move closer to each other and to school than those in a segregated setting.[88]

Katz pointed to the importance of social climate when he found that Negroes want to meet the high academic standard of white peers.[89] In a study of group problem-solving using interracial groups, it was found contact of the races was not the key factor, but that ethnocentrism, aggressiveness and racial balance determine whether interaction will facilitate or interfere with group productivity.[90] A fourth-sixth grade study of gifted children found the personalities of the students to be more important than color of the skin. Girls were less likely to choose individuals of the other race, and as with most studies of this age level, there was very little cross-sex choice in any of the classes.[91]

In a major study of attitudes done in Sacramento, teachers reported that pupils in integrated schools showed their greatest improvement in attitude toward school (64.0%), social adjustment (63.5%), and feelings of success in school (61.8%). Less than 10% of the teachers felt that integrated pupils suffered from negative effects in all areas. Students in the second year of integration showed the greatest growth in attitudes toward other pupils and adaptability. Close to 60% of the teachers felt that interracial friendships had developed, and that both groups of chilren accepted children of the other race. Cnly 8% of the parents indicated that their children liked school less in an integrated setting, and only 3% indicated that their children were less interested in learning. Eighty-one percent indicated the same or greater participation in school and student activities, while 96% indicated that new friendships were made. Only 4% indicated that they felt their children's education was less satisfactory than it was before. The responses of the principals generally echoed the responses of teachers and parents.[92]

In the New York open enrollment study by Fox, similar results were perceived by the parents of both the open enrollment children and the resident children. In general, the parents of open enrollment children felt that there was greater interest in school, better relationships with other children, growth in reading ability and mathematics, along with improved teacher's attitudes toward the children. The parents of residential children generally reacted by saying that their children remained much the same in each of the five areas mentioned.[93]

In Syracuse, New York, thirty pupils who were interviewed concerning the reasons for the significant academic progress they had made after being bussed, said that it was the attitude and motivation of their white classmates which made them achieve more.[94]

Buffalo, New York experienced results similar to those found in many other big cities when schools were integrated by bussing or by other means. Some of their findings: (1) Achievement was higher for those Negroes in integrated schools. (2) When the percentage of Negroes was under 30% in a class, the achievement gains were the same as for integrated classes with only 5% Negroes. When the percentage was above 30%, the class tended to gain at the same rate as if the class were at or nearly 100% black. (3) The following percentages believed that the bussing integration program was educationally sound: Principals - 75%, Teachers - 85%, Negro Parents - 91%, White Parents - 71%, Negro Students - 76%, and White Students - 76%. Principals seemed to be the most dissatisfied of any group pointing up what they thought was lower academic achievement (50%), more discipline problems (74%), and poorer appearance of buildings and classrooms (41%). In discussing white student achievement, only 7% felt it had gone down, and 73% of the principals felt that the white students were getting along fairly well or extremely well with non-white students. Teachers, in general, were much more positive about the integration, with no teacher feeling that white academic achievement had been affected negatively, and 85% indicating that positive results were coming from the integration of non-white pupils. Parents of the Negro children involved were the most positive of all groups interviewed on the effects of integration, while white parents saw the effect on their children as somewhat neutral, but the overall program in a very positive light. Negro students and white students generally reflected their parents attitudes, with the Negro students seeing their attitudes toward the white students in a very positive light (97%), and 96% of the whites seeing the bussed Negroes in a positive light.[95]

Robert Coles, one of the leading writers on the psychological effects of integration, has studied those effects on children in both the South and the North. In a study of Boston school children, he concluded: (1) Negro children are bussed or otherwise transferred experience no significant "harm" or "injury," and generally tend to be at ease and improve their school work, in addition to experiencing less anxiety and more competence. (2) White children react in many different ways, from scorn to curiosity and friendliness. They are not affected negatively by the contact, but do experience some conflict when their values come into conflict with their parents. (3) Children in the North and South understand the meaning of "race" and "culture" at an early age and know their race-linked and classbound "future."[96]

In a study of the factors relating to the acceptance of Negro children in a bussing integration program, Myers concludes:

> Some integrating situations are very desirable and others are not. Furthermore, desirable integration situations have positive consequences for Negro children while undesirable situations do not.[97]

In his study of five elementary schools involved in the bussing of blacks into white schools, Myers found the attitude of the principal to be a key factor. One program failed miserably due to the principal's hostility, two other principals actively opposed the bussing program and provided a poor school environment for the black children. The other two principals, though opposed to bussing, attempted to provide a favorable learning environment, and the students in these situations were unanimous in their desire to return, whereas in the other situations many students and parents were unhappy and wished to leave the school. It was found at first, that the wealthier neighborhoods were more accepting of the bussing program, but in the end, one poor white neighborhood and one wealthier white neighborhood proved to be the most accepting. Myers concludes that:

> Pupils in favorable situations became less defensive. They were able to deal with their academic and social-status inferiority with less defensiveness and anxiety....Negro children are more interested in how they are treated than in the affluence of their surroundings...The parents reacted more to status and the children to treatment.[98]

High socio-economic status, active participation in church affairs, a non-southern regional background and low authoritarianism were found to be the key attitudes in those parents who were in favor of school integration in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Sartain also found a lack of agreement between parent's and children's attitudes towards school integration, with the positive student attitude being attributed to an active campaign carried on by the public schools to promote a favorable attitude towards integration.[99]

Chesler and Segal, in the study referred to previously, point up the important role of the principal, as director of the local educational efforts, in not only the curriculum, policies, rules and regulations, but also in setting the tone of school response to new and changing situations.[100] The teacher also plays a key role according to the study in helping to overcome historical and cultural estrangements in the interracial classroom settings. The teacher is also important in the preparation of Negro and white students for the part they must play in the process of change, and in aiding them in the development of supportive relationships. About one-third of the Negro students said that the teachers paid special attention to them, while two-thirds maintained a laissez-faire attitude. This attitude seemed to be interpreted by white students as support for the substantial amount of negative and aggressive white behavior towards the Negro students. Chesler and Segalconclude about the teacher's attempt to ignore the problem that:

> ...most students as a result were guided by pre-existing stereotypes and fears about the need to maintain distance and safety.[101]

Their suggestions for teacher, principal, parent and student preparation for integration consist of the following: (1) one day to four week residential workshops, (2) lectures by outside consultants, (3) problem identification and diagnosing, (4) problem solving exercises, (5) sensitivity training group, (6) role playing, (7) survey feedback, (8) recording and videotape feedback, (9) sessions focusing on the derivation of action implications and change efforts from research data, and (10) problem sharing sessions to reduce pluralistic ignorance.[102]

Teacher Attitudes

Rotter hypothesized that teachers with middle-class backgrounds and biases would tend to evaluate more negatively those students identified as being of a low socioeconomic class or as Negro than those in the middle class or white race. His hypothesis in the New York experiment was not confirmed. Only one difference could be found and that was that Negroes were rated superior to whites in classroom behavior, and there was a tendency to rate Negro/low-class pupils as more successful and adjusted socially than white/middle class pupils, but at the same time evaluate them as less adjusted psychologically. He concluded that:

> Nothing in this study, therefore, supported the common notion that class and racial bias affect teacher ratings and evaluations.[103]

Gottlieb, in his study reviewed in the previous chapter, found a significant difference, however, with Negro teachers expressing generally positive attitudes towards Negro/low-class students and white teachers negative attitudes. His study also found that Negro teachers were generally more satisfied with their work.[104] A study by Nelson found a significant difference in attitudes toward intergroup relations in their classrooms between desegregated and segregated teachers.[105]

In a research project on teachers' personalities and attitudes towards desegregation, Koepper found significant relationships between various psychological variables and the Teacher Attitude Inventory (TAI). A significant negative correlation was found between the TAI and an authoritarian measure, and positive correlations were found between the TAI and an Ego Strength Scale and Philosophies of Human Nature Scale. More favorable attitudes toward school desegregation were found among those teachers who had previous experience in desegregated situations. He recommended that wherever possible a teacher's expressed willingness to participate in a desegregated school situation be compared to relevent personality factors, and where the two are in serious conflict caution must be used in placing teachers in desegregated leadership positions without special training.[106]

Clark found the assimilation of Negro teachers in Massachusetts to be successful, with positive acceptance of them by students, fellow teachers, and parents. The Negro teachers, for the most part, had come into contact with whites in their college or advanced studies and this was a major factor in their successful integration into predominantly white schools. Qualifications were seen as replacing race as a dominant factor in hiring practices, by the black teachers.[107]

Indianapolis, like many large urban-centers, is under court order to integrate its de facto segregated schools. A study currently underway is comparing the attitudes and morale of four groups of teachers. (1) Mandated teachers, (2) Volunteer teachers, (3) Newly hired teachers, and (4) A control group of teachers. Some of Robinson's preliminary findings are: (1)The mandated non-white teacher and the volunteer non-white teacher have higher morale after being transferred to a predominantly white school. (2) The morale of the newly hired non-white teacher assigned to a predominantly white school is not affected by the balancing of school faculties. (3) The morale of the volunteer white teachers transferred to a predominantly non-white school is slightly lowered by the balancing of school faculties. (4) The morale of the mandated white teacher and the summer assigned white teacher assigned to a predominantly non-white school is seriously affected by the balancing of school faculties. Also in his study, Robinson sees the principal as a key factor in teacher morale, and the need for community support in any integration program.[108]

Numerous institutes have been held to deal with the problems facing teachers in a newly integrated situation. In a study with Georgia and Alabama educators, Kinnick found that the summer training institute induced significant attitude changes, with the experimental group of teachers expressing less authoritarian and ethnocentric tendencies. Important variables were found to be the percentage of Negroes in the subject's home community, income level, time spent outside the Southeast, and level of education.[109]

In a similar study, Moore found that some personal values changed, but not to a statistically significant degree. Group counseling proved to be quite effective in dealing with value changes.[110] At an institute in Kansas City, recommendations for sustaining faculty morale in a desegregated school were made to the participants: (1) in-service training on desegregation and human relations, (2) informal faculty gatherings, (3) meetings with parents and parental involvement in class, (4) continual reevaluation of policies and procedures, (5) encouragement of experimental programs, (6) special materials on minority culture, (7) low class size.[111]

Three studies have shown the extreme importance of the teacher's attitudes and children's perceptions of their teacher's attitudes, as it affects their academic performance. In 1960 research, Davidson and Lang studied the relationship between children's perceptions of their teachers' attitudes toward them and their own self-image, academic achievement, and classroom behavior. Student's academic achievement was found to be directly correlated the favorableness of his teacher's feelings toward him.[112] Malpass, in an earlier study, came to similar conclusions in his finding that favorable perceptions towards teachers and achievement were correlated with grades even when ability was controlled.[113] Perhaps the most dramatic experiment is reported by Rosenthal and Jacobson in Pygmalion in the Classroom. Since more is expected of them, pupils thought to have promise benefit from the preconceptions of their teachers. Teachers were told that certain children, who had been picked at random, had exceptional ability, and it was found that these children subsequently outperformed other students of even higher ability.[114]

Parental Attitudes

A study of parental attitudes towards a school transfer program in Seattle found the following percentages of parents feeling that the program was helpful: mandatory Negro-70%, mandatory white-53%, voluntary Negro-74%, and voluntary white-74%. A much larger percentage of the sample population was in favor of voluntary transfer programs than for mandatory transfer programs. The Seattle study concluded that:

> ...there appears to be substantial, if not overwhelming support for school transfer programs. Most Negro parents believe that interracial education is a good thing and séem willing to support it.[115]

The study also found that "spokesmen" for the Negro community who spoke out against the transfer program, do not represent the community concensus, and that the mere name attached to a program is a major factor in public opinion. Many reacted negatively to the word "mandatory" even though their children had a positive experience in the program.[116]

In a study of two New York City integration programs, it was found that integration lifted Negro parents from apathy to hope and in some instances to militancy. White parents, on the other hand, were plunged into apprehension and insecurity. Meyer reports that successful integration should include an independent parents association, where parents are freer to discuss and come to a consensus, than in the usual P.T.A. Preparation for change must be made with time allowed for anxieties to be expressed and dealt with.[117]

In a study of the Syracuse bussing program, it was found that most parents had positive feelings toward the program and their children's new schools, though of those opposed to the program at the beginning, there was little shift in opinion. Most parents felt that their children were receiving a better education.[118]

The White Plains Racial Balance Plan was positively received by white and Negro parents. Parents of secondary children were even more positive than elementary parents, pointing to their children's increased understanding of people of different background, making them better prepared for the world in which they will live. Only 5% of the white parents felt that the bussing program should be discontinued, and none of the center city parents, thus giving overwhelming endorsement to the program.[119]

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The hypothesis to be tested by the review of research was as follows:

> Integration of the public schools and individual classrooms has resulted in the development of positive attitudes between the races, not only on the part of students, but also for parents, teachers, principals and the community at large.

It is the conclusion of this researcher, after reviewing the available studies on the topic, that the hypothesis is conditionally affirmed. Integration does tend to provide greater equality of opportunity, raise academic achievement for Negro students, change behavior and attitudes, raise aspirations, improve the self-concept of Negro children, lower prejudice, reduce anxiety and antagonism, raise the sense of control felt by Negro pupils, and generally improve the affective climate of the school and the community. The hypothesis was only conditionally affirmed, however, due to a few research findings which seem to contradict the overall conclusion, and due to certain conditions which must be met in each situation, if the integration of the schools is to lead to better relations between the races. We shall summarize the research findings in each of the areas studied.

Students

Aspirations

1. A dramatic rise in the aspirational level of Negro young people has occurred in recent years, due in part to the civil rights movement, African Nationalism, new black leaders, rediscovery of black heritage and culture, and

other related causes.

2. The aspirations of Negro pupils do not differ significantly between those attending desegregated and segregated schools, though some studies indicate a slightly higher level in desegregated situations.
3. Negro pupils attending desegregated schools generally have more realistic aspirations and are more likely to follow through on their aspirations.
4. Aspirations of Negro students differ according to the area of the country and family background.

Self-Concept or Self-Esteem

5. Integration tends to improve the self-concept of Negro pupils and does not harm that of the white pupils in any way.
6. The self-concept of both segregated and integrated Negroes has tended to improve due to many of the same reasons that their aspirational levels have risen.
7. Race and color are being accepted by Negro children to a much greater extent than in years past.
8. Self-concept has proven to be an important predictor and determinant of academic achievement.
9. Negro students with white friends are more likely to have a higher self-concept than those without such friends.
10. A high self-concept is generally related to a low anxiety level in newly integrated schools.

Anxiety

11. Anxiety may result from integration of the schools for both Negro and white students, but this is very much dependent on the personality make-up of each pupil, the teachers, parents, and the principal.
12. Anxiety levels of students vary according to their previous contact with members of the other race.
13. Anxiety from integration differs greatly by areas of the country, and is much dependent on whether it is accomplished peacefully or with disruptions, disorder, or violence.
14. Anxiety level is directly related to the self-concept of the child.

Motivation

15. Desegregated Negroes tend to have higher motivational levels than those who have experienced only segregated schools.
16. The motivational levels of even segregated Negro pupils has risen along with their self-concept and aspirational levels, in recent years.
17. Motivation in academic matters is often a reflection of the home, but the teacher can play an important role by his perceptions of the student.
18. Segregation leads to a lack of motivation, due to the failure to see any relationship between the school and life or any hope for the future.
19. Peer pressure and the social class level of the school are important factors in the motivation of Negro students.

Behavior

20. Integration of the schools is not in itself the determinant of better or worse behavior. Things such as competent teaching, the climate of the school, good administration, and good motivation by teachers are the key factors in the behavior of students.

21. Interracial behavioral problems may increase, due to the fact that students have come into contact for the first time.

22. Some behavior problems on the part of Negro youth may develop due to their frustration at not being completely accepted or due to feelings of hopelessness at how far behind in school they are.

Attitudes

23. Classroom contact may bring about more positive attitudes between children of differing races, but it does not necessarily follow. The teacher and the general social climate of the school play an extremely important role in the successful changing of attitudes.

24. Attitudes generally tend to become more positive throughout the year, after initial hostility dies down.

25. Classroom desegregation as well as school desegregation is necessary if attitudes are to be changed.

26. Interracial friendships are the most effective agent of changes in racial attitudes. At all age levels and in each study reviewed, interracial friendships were developed by a majority of the Negro students. Due to the limited number of Negro students, most white students did not develop

interracial friendships.

27. Attitudes of Negro pupils were generally changed to a greater degree than white pupils, due to their greater contact with members of another race.

28. Racial balance and social class climate were found to be key factors in Negro students aspirational level and academic achievement motivation.

29. The pupils must approach each other on an equal basis, if racial attitudes are to be changed.

30. Voluntary informal contact outside school is important in the formation of positive racial attitudes.

31. Positive racial attitudes are more easily developed in the lower elementary, and integration leads to greater academic achievement when it has been accomplished in the early grades.

32. Curricular materials and classroom organization can lead to positive changes in attitude.

Emotional and Psychological Factors

33. Integration does not lead to any severe personality difficulties for either white or Negro pupils.

34. The effect of integration upon a child is dependent upon the attitudes of parents and teachers. Where he detects conflicts in attitudes, a child may experience some discomfort.

35. Integration tends to break down false feelings of superiority or inferiority, although it may lead to scapegoating for failures due to other causes.

Sense of Control

36. Students in an integrated school, experience a greater sense of control than those in segregated schools.

37. A greater sense of control is positively correlated with higher aspirations and greater achievement.

38. Negro students, in general, do not suffer intimidation as a result of the stiffer competition, although studies disagree as to the effect of integration on the grades received by Negro students.

Teachers

Personal Attitudes

1. The racial attitudes of teachers vary greatly, and little agreement can be found on what teachers racial attitudes are. Some studies find teachers highly prejudicial in their attitudes, while others find no prejudice.

2. Teachers tend to underestimate the ability of Negro pupils, and do not expect as much of them as they do of white pupils. The teacher's perception of the pupil is a key factor in the child's success in school.

3. Teachers have seldom led the fight for integration of the schools, and have generally accepted it when it arrived.

4. Teachers generally reflect the communities in which they teach.

5. Teachers play a key role in the success or failure of integration programs.

6. Once integration has taken place, fears that teachers experience concerning their safety, behavior of students, and racial problems are usually alleviated.
7. Research indicates a negative correlation between authoritarian tendencies and positive racial attitudes, and a positive correlation between attitudes and ego strength and one's philosophy of human nature.

Attitudes Towards Effects of Integration

8. A vast majority of teachers felt that integration helped the academic achievement of Negro pupils, and had no significant effect on white pupils achievement.
9. Teachers' generally believed that attitudes toward school improved with integration.
10. Teachers, on the whole, believe integration, even by bussing, to be educationally sound.
11. Teachers' attitudes towards integration and racial minorities can and have been significantly changed through special institutes and in-service training.
12. Teachers forced to teach in integrated schools often suffer a lowering of morale.

Parents

Attitudes towards Integration

1. Negro parents are in general strongly in favor of integrated education, although they are even more strongly committed to quality education, whether it is integrated or segregated.

2. White parents, while often opposing integration prior to its taking place, are usually quite positive about its effect, on both their children and Negro children.
3. Parental attitudes towards minority groups greatly affect the attitudes of their children, and where the teacher and parents disagree, there can be a real conflict for children.
4. Parents suffer from many of the same fears that teachers and pupils experience prior to integration, and time must be allowed for parents to express and deal with their anxieties.
5. Integration proceeds much more successfully if parents are involved in the planning and implementation.
6. Attitudinal research indicated that behavior shapes and alters attitudes. People who actually work with Negroes tend to treat them as equals. The same thing can now be said of schools. When ones' children attend school with Negro pupils, there is a greater acceptance of them as equals.
7. The behavior of white and Negro parents has been overwhelmingly positive towards integration, thus indicating a behavioral acceptance, if not always an attitudinal acceptance.

Principals

Attitudes towards Integration

1. The role of the principal is crucial in successful integration of the schools. In those cases where a principal opposed a program, it generally failed, while in those cases where he sought to make it work, it generally succeeded.
2. Some research seems to indicate that the principals were more negative than the teachers or the parents about integration, but not enough research has been done in this area to make a judgment.
3. Principals tended to see smaller academic gains resulting on the part of Negro students and greater behavioral problems than did the classroom teachers.

Conclusion

One is forced to conclude that integration of the schools can and does lead to positive changes in the affective climate. It is this researchers considered opinion that the Coleman Report, the Civil Rights Commission Study, and an overwhelming number of smaller research projects indicate that the integration of our public schools can lead to better and more positive racial attitudes in this troubled country of ours.

FOOTNOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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